5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

We shall need to consider exchange from two points of view: first, as in the preceding chapters, we may consider it phenomenologically, from the viewpoint of the transactional polarity of the exchange partners; secondly, we may consider it from the viewpoint of symbolic thought, as something like the dialogue between *Yin* and *Yang*, as the product of Orokaiva intelligence reflecting upon affective experience.[1] It is this second approach which will be appropriate for much of our discussion about the remarkable Orokaiva myth of the coconut and the betelnut.

2. *The Minor Foods: Objects of Mediation and Paired Symbols*

Although this chapter will deal mainly with the coconut and betelnut, it will be useful first to set this couple into a wider ecological and cultural context. Coconut and betelnut have been chosen for detailed treatment out of a large number of minor foods of the Orokaiva, many of which have their special importance as objects of mediation. An interesting aspect of these minor foods is that Orokaiva symbolic thought arranges them in couples to which a male/female opposition is usually ascribed. Very often these plant couples are grown in close association with one another and it is claimed that they will not prosper unless they are planted together and that, in their wild state, they are also found together. The symbolic association of these pairs of plants may be based on any of a number of shared characteristics: the similar outward appearance of the fruit, a coincidence in the time of fruiting, a similarity in culinary use, in taste, in supposed physiological effects of the fruit when eaten. Sometimes the pair of plants are linked in ritual use and in a common myth.

Among examples of this pairing tendency that may be quoted are two varieties of breadfruit, called *oga* and *eumba*; two condiments important in initiation ritual: the *puga* nut and the salt vine *hoe*; the yam and a red fruit called *hamesi*. The coconut (*vu*) and betelnut or *areca* (*su*) are similarly a pair of subsidiary foods between which there are important points of resemblance which led to their being paired together, and important points of difference which led one of them to be classified as male and the other as female.

Coconut and betelnut are planted together in villages and also in gardens. Both nuts are eaten raw, young coconuts for refreshment, *areca* for relaxation, and both are consumed between meals. Both nuts grow on palms. Both foods have notable (though different) biochemical effects on those who eat them. Both foods are standard gifts made to strangers who visit a village, a coconut being offered as refreshment immediately upon arrival while betelnut is chewed (along with *hingi* pepper and lime) during the conversation. The two nuts are also associated in ritual use. At mortuary feasts, the most important gift objects are large quantities of betelnuts and coconuts harvested from the palms of the deceased, while dry coconut and betelnut are strewn on graves by affines of the deceased. Finally, coconut and betelnut are associated in an important myth which I intend to discuss in detail.

In studying plant couples such as coconut and betelnut two aspects of exchange need to be considered: first, exchanges between persons in which the food products appear as objects of mediation and secondly, mythical exchanges between the male and female plant, where the two plants appear as exchange

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

824 772 partners, while objects of mediation are not imaginary and magical, but have a real existence. I shall deal with these two aspects in turn.

3. *Coconut as an Object of Mediation*

824 [252] [262] [272] [431] Coconut has several culinary uses: it is eaten raw; soup is made of the flesh; the squeezed flesh produces coconut cream in which taro and delicacies such as river crabs may be cooked. Young coconuts are cut open at the top and used for a refreshing drink. Coconut is reserved for two kinds of everyday food gift: cooked dishes offered to guests and young coconut offered to visitors on arrival. Waddell's figures for coconut transactions are surprisingly low (less than 1 lb. per week disposed of in an average household). In Inonda, where the climate favours the coconut, there has been sporadic commercial exploitation of the nut.

[574] [262] [764] Coconuts are also a feasting food. At ordinary harvest feasts and bridewealth payments they are seen on display platforms along with taro and other vegetables. Williams (1930: 44) reports that they used to be placed under a taboo when a large feast was pending. I have already mentioned that at mortuary feasts they are the principal object of mediation between the plant emblem group of the deceased and the village which has provided services to the deceased at the time of death (See Williams 1930: 223–6). I saw a variant of this ceremony at Hohorita in 1967. The plant emblem groups of the deceased couple provided massive gifts displayed on a platform: feast taro, tins of fish, cartons of flour, corned beef in tins, sugar-cane, pots of cooked vegetable food, small bags of salt, smoked meat, a dead pig suspended from a stick, rice, bread, an abundance of betelnut and carved taro suspended from horizontal poles placed above the platform, while at least 1000 lbs. of coconuts, strung to poles supporting each other diagonally, were seen everywhere among the other gifts.

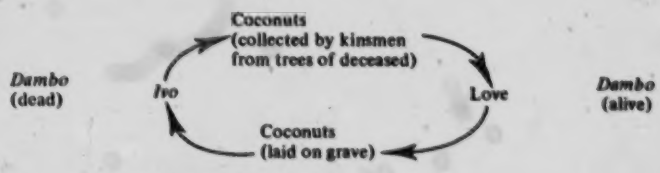
[262] [146] [231] [235] Coconut is correctly believed to be a valuable adjunct to children's diet, as it provides first-class protein. The belief is explained by Orokaiva in a myth quoted by Williams (1928: 122) according to which the first child ever to eat a coconut grew miraculously overnight. Children do eat a good deal of it and it is also fed regularly to dogs and chickens. Orokaiva also regard the effects of coconuts on dogs as miraculous. As neither dogs nor children have any other substantial supply of first-class protein, the coconut relieves a very real diet deficiency. Whatever religious significance is given to the coconut is related to this.

824 778 [302] [789] [881] [761] [764] Coconut oil is used as a cosmetic for hair and body, not only to enhance beauty but also for its magical efficacy. In a ritual performed over a man-slayer, a coconut was broken over his head as a purificatory and 'defensive' device in the sense that the fluid would drive away dangerous spirits (1930: 175). With the same end in view, the bodies of female initiands and certain ornaments worn at dances are rubbed with coconut oil (1930: 207). It would appear, in view of this evidence, that the coconut is in general identified with *ivo* communicated by the dead to the living. The coconuts of a dead leader are thought to contain his *ivo* in a form which is communicable, not to his kinsmen to whom these coconuts are taboo, but particularly to his affines. The quoted ritual uses of the coconut are all associated with some contact with the world of death, i.e. critical situations in which the living have been in contact with death and need the help of the dead to obtain *ivo*. While this *ivo* is communicated, through the mediation

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 19
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

of coconut gifts, in a great variety of sometimes quite casual relationships, the most crucial communication occurs in the large-scale, highly structured mortuary feast where we may regard the archetypal exchange situation as occurring between brothers-in-law (*dambo*), one of whom is dead while the other is alive. The exchange cycle is as follows:

MODEL 28



4. Areca *as Object of Mediation*

Areca, a mildly narcotic fruit, is chewed with lime and pepper (*hingi*) when persons, often from different households, are sitting together to relax and talk. It is always offered when friendly visitors arrive from other villages. It is chewed by women as much as by men, though by Waddell's statistics men act more frequently as donors of *areca* in the exchange network (71 per cent of recorded cases). *Areca* is the only Sivepe food product of which, by Waddell's statistics, more than half the disposals are to other than village residents. Table VIII/1 summarises the number of transactions but does not show that Sivepe is an exporter of betelnut, while lime is imported. Much of this export is in barter but sales for money also occur.

When friends from the same village are sitting together betelnut is shared in much the same way as beer in our culture, i.e. people offer nuts to each other but expect to come out approximately even. At visits to another village, it is more common for the principal visitor to make a bulk donation. The hosts share out betelnut among their guests either by throwing a few nuts to each person or (on more formal occasions) by the principal host presenting the principal visitor with a large bunch, leaving the latter to share them out among his people. The visitors also hand a nut to anyone in the host group who has no nut to chew. The two principals will distribute some of the *areca* they have received to chosen persons within their own group.

Betelnut is treated as a valuable commodity. It is never given away in heaps like ordinary garden crops. Its value is undoubtedly associated with its narcotic properties. At social gatherings its main effect appears to be that it creates a relaxed and genial atmosphere, breaking down hostility otherwise likely to exist between groups. Its magical use is so widespread that its supposed effect is hard to determine from the evidence of medicines. Many medicines consist of *areca* chewed with some specific purpose, and as such it is applied in hunting magic, magic for drumming, and magic against a variety of diseases.

In ritual its role is often the same as coconut, e.g. at mortuary feasts. The exchange cycle shown in model 28 applies similarly to betelnut. Yet, just as its

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

crucial passages verbaim. In the full text, the brother comes back four or five times to the miracle hat chiefly concerns him: the symbiosis of coconut and areca, dropping their fruits side by side and thus (as he implies rather than states) fertilising one nother. Taking this symbiosis as a fact of nature, the hero uses it to explain several other mysterious facts: (*a*) why all the bachelors died; (*b*) the ritual uses of coconut and *areca*; (*c*) why the Orokaiva consider coconut masculine, *areca* feminine. To answer the first question, he refers to an easily verified fact: the *pepeuma* of the coconut do look like a girl's breasts; they are very dangerous if one falls upon them with any force. His sister was clearly an *embavo*, a coconut spirit. In this way the deaths are, to Orokaiva thought, adequately accounted for.

The hero explains two types of ritual uses of coconut and *areca*, namely those related to mortuary feasts and those where the sex of the recipient of the nuts is opposite to that of the donor. The instruction that nobody should eat the nuts lying under the trees, on pain of death, constitutes a mythological charter for the taboo placed upon the cocopalms and *areca* palms owned by a person recently dead. An informant explained a further implication to me, which is not very clear from the version I quoted: namely that it is customary to place coconuts and *areca* nuts upon the grave of a dead affine. Thus it was the duty of the hero to place coconuts and *areca* nuts upon the grave of his brother-in-law; and the duty of his wife to do the same for the grave of her sister-in-law. In order to clarify these points, the myth tells of the wife's desire to eat the nuts and the hero's refusal to let her have them.

In a somewhat elliptical manner, the hero lists or implies three sets of rules concerning gifts of coconut and *areca*, where the sex of the recipient of the nuts is opposite to that of the donor. The sets are:

Areca	*Coconut*
1(*a*) The man fetches the nuts from the tree.	1(*b*) The woman *helps to fetch* the nuts from the tree.
2(*a*) The man gives the nuts to the woman.	2(*b*) The woman cooks the nuts for the man.
3(*a*) The girl offers nuts to her lover and carries an offering of nuts at initiation.	3(*b*) At a girl's initiation, a man prepares coconut oil which is used as a ritual cosmetic.

The first opposition is made quite explicit in the hero's speech, but is not free from casuistry. Men usually fetch not only *areca* but also coconuts from the high palms on which they grow. The woman may help by collecting coconuts once they have dropped to the ground, and by carrying them home. Very often, however, the coconuts are carried by men, who tie two nuts to a stalk, thus creating a huge effigy of a phallus. The feeble empirical basis of this opposition only serves to emphasise that we are here being taught an ideology which requires the opposition.

The hero's second opposition centres on the culinary use made of the nuts. *Areca*, in opposition to coconut, has no place in the kitchen. The fact that coconut is also often eaten raw would weaken the opposition, but this is

614 423 425 764 [177] Other sub-clan rights include those to burial grounds and tracks. Once land is set aside and used as a burial ground it remains vested in the descent group even after it is no longer used for burial. Burial grounds may, however, be a post-contact innovation, for in the pre-contact era the dead were sometimes buried under the houses in which they had lived. In the case of tracks, however, the descent group which holds the surrounding land retains reversionary rights and in the event of the tracks being no longer used by the community they revert to the relevent descent group. There are two burial grounds at present in use in Inonda - one for Christians and the other for pagans. There are also old disused burial grounds adjacent to the sites of previous villages.

613 423 425 The lineage: The Andiriha sub-clan of Inonda is divided into four lineages but the Jego'undi sub-clan consists of a single lineage. After rights to the Inonda lands had been acquired from the Tandai'undi it was decided that the mountainous hunting lands would be held in common by the Inonda people, but the garden land, the grassland and at least some of the foothills were divided among the lineages. Some informants claim this was done almost immediately by the head of the joint sub-clans, but it seems unlikely that all the lands were divided at this time. All agree that some land was allocated at the time of the transfer, but some maintain that not all of it was and that identification with particular lineages in many cases followed later clearing.

While most lands are said to have remained with the lineage which originally cleared them, some have changed hands. For example, when the Andiriha people first came to settle in Inonda they obtained their seeds and planting shoots from the Jegotumo (an Andiriha lineage - not to be confused with Jego'undi sub-clan) which was then living in Hohota. The Jegotumo also assisted by providing one of the brides and some of the valuables for the payment which was made to the Tandai'undi, and thus acquired a right to the Inonda lands although they did not actually exert their rights at the time. Some years afterwards, however, when they felt that they were being subjected to sorcery in Hohota, they came over to live in Inonda and were granted rights to a

361 In the period from January 1951-1967, the location of the villages now known as Sivepe and Inonda changed several times. In [114] the Sivepe area settlements had always been unstable. Rimoldi has made a valiant attempt to reconstruct shifts of residence from the time of European contact to the present; involved though his reconstruction is, it probably tells only part of the story. In 50 years, the groups now represented in Sivepe had between them been involved in shifts of residence between a series of 14 village sites within an area of about two square miles adjoining the Sohu [659] River. It is clear that the government carried out some village consolidations in the district after the second world war, but before the eruption. Most of the people now living at Sivepe were, at that time, shifted to a village called Pamba, which had been occupied earlier by the Seho clan only. After the eruption, Pamba was at first reoccupied, but soon the village was shifted almost a mile away, to a place which was called Sivepe. This new village (see Map V)[A] differed from the pre-eruption one in layout, method of house construction and spacing of the dwellings. It conformed to the model advocated by the administration and observed by the refugees when they were at Wairopi and Ilimo. In 1965, Sivepe was shifted to its present site, and higher building standards and better sanitation were again introduced (see Map VI).[B]

Both these shifts were connected with topographical relation- [578] ships and social relationships outside the village. The first of [628] them, in 1952, seems to have been precipitated by a quarrel between the Tiaumu clan of Pamba and the resettlement village of Kongohambo, which then had a population of almost 1,000, over garden damage caused by pigs. Sivepe was much farther away from Kongohambo than Pamba. The second shift was in the opposite direction. It was a move which brought the village closer to the road, closer to the mission, and the reduced distance from Kongohambo no longer mattered as this is now a village of average size, with which good relations exist. The people who lived in Kongohambo in 1952 have returned to their homes closer to the mountain.

These shifts in village sites are accounted for by almost a 361 superfluity of reasons. Rimoldi was told of almost all the shifts 657 he recorded that they were made upon the instructions of the government. I was told of shifts that were made because of deaths 361 attributed to sorcery and because of quarrels between neighboring villages which were too close together for comfort. I witnessed [628] one shift after a death of an old man where sorcery was not [754] suspected (as he was old) but being unbaptised he could not be buried in the Christian cemetery which made people fearful of his ghost. The population of this village shifted to nearby Hohorita, [764] a move which was in any case favoured by the government. A reason [775] that was also sometimes given was that the houses were all old and the place was becoming unsanitary. A reason never explicitly given, but perhaps as important as any other is the Orokaiva's dislike for

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 5--Analyst]
B [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 6--Analyst]

121 January, 1951 and 1967), both in Sivepa and Inonda. In our treatment of the patterns of contact, we need to consider the following variables specified in the Barnett memorandum (1-C #1,2,3,4,5,6,7): role and status of persons involved in transactions, the occasions of contacts and transactions, their purpose, frequency, degree of formality, degree of affectivity, the fiduciary element present in the transactions, their locations; we have to specify how comprehensive the exchanges were (did they involve affinity, friendship?), who were the initiators and what view each of the partners in these exchanges took of the other. In dealing with every one of the categories of outsiders we must, in addition, inquire whether these categories are actually homogeneous; it will often be found that we have to differentiate within the categories. For instance, we have to look whether the Orokaiva distinguish between the different roles, statuses and ethnic origins of persons belonging to the category "taupa." The most convenient way of presenting these data will be by taking each of the 11 categories in turn, dealing with all the variables that seem appropriate to that category.

Section 2: Contacts with Closely Allied Villages

628 The concept of a "closely allied" village is a difficult [621] one: it is not often, in these days of peace, that a village [571] really acts as a corporate unit, so that contacts between villages tend to be, in actual fact, contacts between individuals in these villages who are linked by agnatic, consanguineal, affinal or friendship ties. Out of such ties, inter-village contacts may arise. For instance one village may give a feast for another village and here the unit invited is definitely very often the village; or one village may come to the aid of another after there has been a death and bring food to all members of the bereaved [764] village. The most significant inter-village contacts--those which would occur in time of war when one village went to the aid of another--could no longer be observed, but the ritual immediately after a death resembled that customary when a village was attacked by an enemy. The conch-shell was blown and the closely allied villages would come to the aid of the bereaved one. Hardly anyone would stay behind, if the death was in a really closely allied village. Thus hardly anyone was left in Mohorita, with 400 inhabitants, when an old man died at Sombou which was a closely allied village. On the other hand, if the link between two villages is slightly less close, only those families with kinship or friendship connections will go to the bereaved village. In order to be "closely allied" in the sense just suggested, a village should be geographically close (not much more than a mile away, in the cases of Sivepa, Inonda,

177 of the dead remained basically unchanged, Christian burial rites
[775] and cemeteries are generally used in the belief that they are
efficacious in controlling ghosts. Girls were "shown to the people"
[764] after initiation, preferably on the mission station during the Easter
dances. The kere which was a women's initiation dance, was also
[881] performed on a mission occasion (the celebration of St. Barnabas Day,
in honour of the patron saint of this station).

What was the motive of mission teachers introducing a new form
881 of initiation ritual to the Orokaiva? This extramural activity,
177 performed in the dead of night, signified a little more than the
intertribal status rivalry analysed earlier in this chapter. The
[533] text of the songs gives no obvious clues to their significance at the
present time. Though it was made up of at least four or five languages,
due to diffusion of the cycle through the Northern District, I managed
to collect a translation of most of it during a tour of Port Moresby
when we visited knowledgeable members of various Musa River tribes.
The songs evoke a series of phases in a woman's life, stating symbolically
her role in initiation, courtship, marriage, childbearing and feasting.
They are very rich in symbolic content which is not relevant here. But
they contain no message that can be related to any modern millennial
or cargo cult. During a visit to Uiaku, in the Collingwood Bay district,
my wife found that the old women in that village knew the songs but
not the younger ones. This points to diffusion from the Musa to the
Collingwood Bay district some decades ago. All this evidence confirms
the mission teacher's own explanation given to me that he introduced
this cycle in order to keep old traditions alive, in order to give more
strength to the younger generation which had not been properly initiated.

I was impressed by the strong religious sentiment displayed by
881 the performers especially in the very first dances. They might at that
177 time be doubtful about dance movements and words but not about the
781 demeanour appropriate to the impersonation of spirits. At the very
first practise, even the young girls knew the right bearing, intonation
and rhythm. This was not truly the introduction of an alien ritual;
the purpose and the strategy could not have been more familiar.

The involvement of my wife in this initiatory ritual helped to
771 lend it the ambiguity that was evidently intended. It was not the
177 purpose of the mission teacher to set up this pagan ritual in opposition
797 to Christianity but rather to bring about its continuity in a Christian
order. I have already shown in earlier chapters that the Christian
dispensation is conceived as not only a religious but also and importantly
a socio-economic one--that Christianity, wealth and wage labour are
perceived as part of the same complex. If it can be made to accommodate
women's initiation ceremonies (after jettisoning, of course, those
aspects to which the clergy takes exception) future generations will
have the strength of the forefathers. This desire for greater
strength, in a physical and numerical as well as spiritual sense,
was often expressed to me.

621 station. The Horeopa leader, who was the owner of this land, then
361 invited these other clans to come over and make Hohorita into one
united big village. When the clans came over in 1959, they followed
the same pattern as the Sorovi immigrants followed in Sivepe: they
arranged their houses so as to maintain, in a subtle but unmistakable
way, their own identity. They formed in effect a second rectangle
which formed a harmonious continuation of the first rectangle but which
was separated by just half a chain. In 1966, the front and the back
half of Hohorita held separate feasts, each inviting a different
village. In 1967, the councillor made plans to clear the gap between
the two halves, remove the two old houses which emphasised the separation
and build new houses in the cleared area to join the rows together.

Around this time, the Sombou people began to establish themselves
in Hohorita, leaving their old village behind. I think it was they
[764] who filled the gap between the rows. The councillor had long been at
[775] pains to close down the small villages of Sombou and Kakita and Soubou
was finally persuaded after the death of an old migrant who had remained
a pagan. As he could not be buried in the Christian cemetery, and
people did not feel disposed to carry out the full involved ritual to
placate the ghost, they preferred to shift their village. (They thought
that pagan ghosts are far more dangerous than Christian ones.)

361 Hohorita, like most resettlement villages, lies along the main
368 road to Popondetta, 11 miles from Popondetta, seven miles from Saiho
hospital, three miles from the Higaturu Council chambers. The school,
conducted by the mission on Hohorita station, offers an education to
the end of Standard 3.

621 The two feasts held in 1966 were intended to introduce into
433 Hohorita the pigless era advocated by all councillors. I arrived a
434 month or two after the feasts and by that time two very small pigs had
appeared which were there for a special reason I have forgotten.
[231] Sombou and Kakita still had a normal complement of pigs. Coffee was
[245] a somewhat bigger enterprise in Hohorita than at Sivepe. The trees
[166] were much better looked after, and there were far more of them. Every
man had his coffee garden and an income of $100 per annum from coffee
was normal. Young trees were also being planted at a much faster rate.
Compared to Sivepe, there were very few wives whose husbands were
permanently away working. The reason for this was that there are a
number of plantations quite close to Hohorita and those who needed
to work to pay off bridewealth, etc., could do so without going too
far afield. Money to pay taxes and other regular outgoing expenses
464 would come from coffee. Men who were able to find skilled jobs,
167 clerical or professional work usually had their wives with them. An
important resource of Hohorita, not shared by Sivepe, is the avail-
ability of good jobs within a reasonable distance; the fact that Hohorita
families do not break up in the same way as Sivepe ones indicates that
such separation is probably economically motivated. It is necessary
for a young man to earn his trophies, so to speak, which in the modern
world means money, but if he can do it without a prolonged absence
from home, he prefers staying home.

astonishment about this kind of story, I was told in explanation that at the time of the eruption, the old people could not run away and the old people all died. For this reason, old customs and old knowledge died also; those who were left behind--the children who could run fast enough to escape--were forced to accept the new way of life as they knew no other.

This suggestion of an abrupt break in cultural tradition is of course in itself mythology. The continuity was obvious enough to the observer. Nonetheless, the belief in discontinuity was an important aspect of the modern Sangara self-group image. In the eruption, Sangara lost the people who used to make the decisions, who used to set patterns of behaviour. The survivors were forced to put the pieces together as best they could. Many customs vanished on the day of the eruption, e.g., polygyny; those customs which survive in Sivepe, however, mostly survived to some extent in Hohorita too. But when I asked my Hohorita informants whether father-in-law still chased his son-in-law with a firebrand this definitely appeared to be out of fashion. For traditional knowledge as well as custom, Sivepe was the repository of much that Hohorita had left behind. Almost all the mythology had been lost; the dancing was much inferior because the people were so much busier with their coffee; on the other hand, feasting ceremonial had remained mostly intact. Burial rites were no longer as Williams described them but very much the same as in Sivepe, i.e., the essentials were intact but a great deal of restraint had been introduced, the body was no longer dressed and laid out in the traditional manner and, most important of all, the widow was no longer expected to stay with the dead man after burial.

In matters of food, clothing, housing and village improvement, tools and skills I found most of the same features as in Sivepe. The differences I found were, to some extent, in the greater availability of money, in the larger number of educated people, the larger number of persons who had migrated to towns where they held skilled jobs, the intensive contact between this educated élite outside the village and the educated élite inside it, and as a result, as far greater awareness of ideological and political issues than could be found in Sivepe. Stephen, the government driver at Inonda, had a sophistication comparable to this educated group at Hohorita, but he was alone and exchanged ideas only when he was in Popondetta, away from the village where wider political and ideological ideas would have aroused little interest.

Section 4: Leadership in Hohorita

At the time of my arrival at Hohorita, the traditional leader, a man called Amos, had recently died. After his death, he was revered with much ceremony. Thus, during my stay, a naterari (Williams: 1930: 226) was set up, i.e., a post to taboo the coconuts and betelnuts

26: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Orokaiva marriage (Schwimmer, 1970) and have shown that sister-exchange marriage, though infrequent, is regarded as the ideal form. Elopement and abduction marriages, once the most frequent, are now frowned upon, though elopement is still prevalent. The patrilateral preference rule (marrying out a girl in her mother's village) is still regularly stated by informants. In my records, which go back to the third generation, I found that 35% of the resident married women had been married out by that rule for the whole three generations, i.e., they had been exchanged for their mothers and their mothers for their grandmothers.

In the study [2] that follows, I shall first present data concerning the coconut and areca, then about the taro. I shall follow this presentation with a brief discussion about the relation between the levels of myth and ritual.

1. COCONUT AND ARECA

A salient characteristic of the ethnobotany of the Orokaiva is the classification of plants as masculine and feminine. Certain important cultivars are grouped together as opposite-sex couples and grown in close association with one another. Claims are made that such plants will not prosper unless they are planted close together and that, in their wild state, they are also found together.

The symbolic association of these pairs of plants may be based on a number of shared characteristics: the similar outward appearance of the fruit, a coincidence in the time of fruiting, and similarities in culinary use, taste, and supposed physiological effects of the fruit when eaten. Sometimes the pairs of plants are linked in ritual use and in a common myth.

Coconut and areca are planted together in villages as well as gardens. Both nuts are eaten raw between meals; both grow on palms; both are offered to visitors—the coconut as refreshment immediately upon arrival and the areca (along with *hingi* pepper and lime) for chewing during the conversation. At mortuary feasts coconut and areca are the principal gifts, offered in large quantities to guests from villages who helped to bury

26: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

the dead person. At ordinary harvest feasts and bride-wealth payments they are seen on display platforms along with taro and other vegetables. They are then subsidiary to taro and pigs, which are the main food gifts, but at mortuary feasts vast quantities are given, saved from the dead man's palms, which are made taboo until this feast. Dry coconut and areca are strewn on graves by affines of the deceased.

The distinctive features perceived by Orokaiva in each species should also be summarized. Coconut is believed to be a valuable adjunct to the diet of children and dogs (also chickens). In Orokaiva myths, its miraculous effect on children and dogs is often described. To the scientific observer this effect is natural enough as coconut is an important source of first-class protein for both children and dogs, who otherwise do not get much first-class protein. Coconut oil is used as a cosmetic for hair and body not only to enhance beauty but also for its magical efficacy, for the purification of man-slayers (Williams, 1930: 175, 207), and for women who are being initiated or who welcome visitors at dances. In all such cases it is the task of a male to pour the coconut milk over the persons whose magical protection is intended.

Areca, a mildly hallucinogenic fruit, is chewed by women as much as by men. When friends are sitting together, it is shared in much the same way as beer among white Australians. People offer nuts to each other but expect to come out approximately even. Visitors from other villages expect to be offered areca by their hosts. Its main physiological effect is to create a dreamy amiability and to break down hostility that might otherwise exist. Its magical uses, mostly in association with some medicine of more specific purpose, are too many to enumerate. A girl carries a bunch of areca at the ceremony which ends her seclusion after first menstruation. She normally offers it to her man at lovers' meetings.

Although I have a number of coconut and areca myths on record, I shall discuss here only one, the fullest one, which illustrates my argument most clearly. A beautiful girl, noted for her remarkable breasts, had the misfortune of killing all the young men with whom she slept. Her breasts pricked and killed them.

26: Schwimmer E-S (1966-1970) 1974
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

do look like a girl's breasts; they are very dangerous if one falls upon them with any force. His sister was clearly an *embavo*, a coconut spirit. In this way the deaths are, to Orokaiva thought, adequately accounted for.

The hero explains two types of ritual uses of coconut and areca, namely, those related to mortuary feasts and those where the sex of the recipient of the nuts is opposite to that of the donor. The instruction that nobody should eat the nuts lying under the trees, on pain of death, constitutes a mythological charter for the taboo placed upon the coco palms and areca palms owned by a person recently dead. An informant explained a further implication to me, which is not very clear from the version I quoted, namely, that it is customary to place coconuts and areca nuts upon the grave of a dead affine. Thus it was the duty of the hero to place coconuts and areca nuts upon the grave of his brother-in-law; and the duty of his wife, to do the same for the grave of her sister-in-law. In order to clarify these points, the myth tells of the wife's desire to eat the nuts and the hero's refusal to let her have them.

In a somewhat elliptic manner, the hero lists or implies three sets of rules concerning gifts of coconut and areca, where the sex of the recipient of the nuts is opposite to that of the donor. The sets are:

Areca	*Coconut*
1a. The man fetches the nuts from the tree.	1b. The woman *helps to fetch* the nuts from the tree.
2a. The man gives the nuts to the woman.	2b. The woman cooks the nuts for the man.
3a. The girl offers nuts to her lover and carries an offering of nuts at initiation.	3b. At a girl's initiation, a man prepares coconut oil, which is used as a ritual cosmetic.

The first opposition is made quite explicit in the hero's speech, but is not free from casuistry. Men usually fetch not only areca but also coconuts from the high palms on which they